by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 to 18 were added to the Bill.
Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title

were added to the Bill.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be passed".

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Now, we will take up the Bodo issue, and, then, the Karnataka issue.

CLARIFICATIONS ON STATEMENT BY MINISTER

I. SUSPENSION OF OPERATIONS AGAINST BODO LIBERATION TIGERS

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA(Rajasthan) : The hon. Minister had given a statement this morning. First, I will refer to that statement itself. Para No. 3 says, '...invitation to all the militant groups to come forward for talks within the four corners of our Constitution.' I would like to know from the hon. Minister which these militant groups are. We really don't know how many militant groups are working, particularly, in the North-East area. Everyday, a new militant group's name comes up. I would like to know the names of those militant groups which are functioning for the last so many years. I am only trying to put the questions so that time can be saved.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): That is good.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: Para 4 of the statement says "in pursuance of the said offer, the Bodo Liberation Tiger (BLT) has suspended its operations against the Army, Para-Military Forces and State Police". I wish the hon. Minister had also mentioned that they have suspended the

operations against the public at large. Of course, he has mentioned later that it has also agreed "not to indulge in any unlawful activities". If he had clarified that they had really agreed not to disturb the ordinary citizens of the State, it would have given us a lot of confidence. I want to point out that the Bodo Liberation Tiger is a very small group. It is not an important group. The really important group is different. The Bodos have got many other groups which are much more important and effective. What are we doing about them? The BLT is only an offshoot of the main groups. So, what is happening to the main groups?

Now, I want to mention another thing. I am just referring to it because it was discussed in the morning during Question Hour. The hon. Home Minister mentioned that there were positive results. He said, "there are positive results". I am amazed. What are the positive results? These terrorists are not only killing the ordinary citizens but also attacking the military personnel. They have gone to the extent of killing the Forest and PWD Minister of Assam. The killing of Assam Forest and PWD Minister, Mr. Nagen Sharma, in a bomb blast, in Nalbari district of the State, by the ULFA is a major act of violence committed by the outlawed organisation in the recent past. This has happened only a week ago. But the Government feels very satisfied that there are positive results. Are these positive results? If this is our imagination, if this is the imagination of the Government, I feel we are on the wrong track. They are much more active. I may also mention about a report by Mr. Barun Dasgupta. He mentioned, "the ULFA has stepped up violence in Assam, but the State Police Chief says this is more a sign of desperation". This was on 6th February. After this, a week ago, as I have said, the Assam Forest Minister has been killed. This has to be taken very seriously. Similarly, there is another report which states, "the people of Assam were aware of ULFA's links with Pakistan's ISI. However, when Anup Chetia wrote from a Bangladesh prison in the outfit's mouthpiece "Swadhinata" that the people of Assam will "win independence through war" and that "the golden dawn of freedom was awaiting them", they saw through ULFA's anti-national game plan". I don't think that they have withdrawn this game plan. Can the hon. Home Minister assure this House that this game plan has been withdrawn? At this point, when the hon. Home Minister extends an invitation to the militant groups, I would like to know what the process of contacting these militant groups is. I understand that they are underground. Do you have a method by which you are able to reach these

leaders in a proper way? Or, are you talking to the wrong people? We would also like to have this information so that we can have more confidence. In the morning the hon. Home Minister said that there were parameters. I would like to know the parameters to which the ULFA has not agreed. What have they not agreed? What are these parameters? It is very well known now that they have training camps in the neighbouring countries. Forget about Pakistan. It is far away from the North-Eastern Region. But there are Bhutan and Bangladesh. The hon. Home Minister says that they are friendly countries. I also agree that they are friendly countries. If they are friendly countries, why are these training camps still there? I remember, the Israel Government went to another country to save their citizens. I would like to know what for are we waiting? We become good....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): That's all.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: Give me one more minute, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Please.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: We try to be good with these people. Why don't we go to Bhutan? Either Bhutan makes it sure that these camps are removed or we should take strong steps. Shall we have to go ourselves to remove those camps from that country? I know it is very difficult, but not impossible. The last point which I would like to make is a very serious point. Recently, we released three terrorists, after the terrorists had taken the hijacked plane to Kandhar. A number of kidnappings of tea garden owners have been taking place. When a rasom payment is made, the Government comes forward and arrests the person who is making the payment. But here, since the people who are kidnapped are not their kith and kin, let them die! You cannot give them protection! And you don't even let them handle it themselves. That is what happened in Tata's case. A case had been fild in the Guwahati High Court. Even today the Managing Director of Tata Tea Company, Shri Krishna Kumar, is facing that case because of the fact that he was helping some of them. He was helping some of the sick people from the ULFA outfit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): That's all

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: No, no Sir, I have been affected.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI): Already you have...

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA : Sir, please allow me to speak. I have got the opportunity. I lost my Chief Executive in 1992. All our people had been kidnapped. What did the Minister do? Just saying that possitive results are there, is not enough. This is a very sad situation. I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister: Are you going to announce it today that if anybody is kidnapped, no action will be taken against the victim, against the victim's kin or against the vicim's family members, or their firends, who try to take that man out from the nightmare? I would like to have this clarification in very clear words. I the law does not permit it, can I have an assurance that even the law will be changed to make it sure that the victim's relatives are not further punished?

SHRI KHAGEN DAS (Tripura) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, recently, the militant groups in the North-Eastern region, which are being aided and equipped with sophisticated arms by the ISI and other foreign agencies, have stepped up their violent activities, resulting in loss of life and property, kidnapping and large extoration of money. Due to their activities, the economic development of that region has come to a standstill. The insurgent groups are fomenting these violent activities in a bid to disrupt the unity and integrity of the country. It is a matter of great concern for the whole nation. Now, in para 6 of the statement made by the hon. Minister, it is stated that efforts are being made to convince other militant groups in the North-Eastern region to suspend their violent and unlawful activities and come to the negotiating people. I want to know from the hon. Minister what concrete steps the Government has taken so far to initiate a dialogue with all the banned outfits of the North-Eastern region; what concrete steps the Government has taken for working out a solution? The Government should also announce the names of the groups with whom the dialogue is in progress and what specific measures or steps have been taken by the Government for declaring a truce with the militants, or, whether the Government is thinking of making an appeal to the banned outfits to agree to a truce.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the reports of the Intelligent Departments of the Government of India and the State Government and interrogation of the surrendered extremists of the North Eastern Region indicate that some of the militant groups have their bases and hideouts in our neighbouring countries. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether some of the militant groups of the North Eastern Region have their bases and hideouts in our

neighbouring countries. If so, has the Government of India held any discussion with the leaders of the neighbouring countries to dismantle the bases and hideouts of the extremist groups? If not, will the Government take an initiative to make such a move?

Thirdly, to bring insurgent groups to the negotiating table, I think, some sort of pressure tactics needs to be adopted. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the Central Government has deployed adequate forces to counter the insurgency operations in the most affected States of the North Eastern Region.

Thank you.

SHRI DRUPAD BORGOHAIN (Assam): Sir, I have gone through the statement which the hon. Minister has made. I would like to confine myself to the Bodo problem. We welcome the Bodo Liberation Tiger (BLT) for completely abjuring the path of violence in both letter and spirit. Sir, this will open a way for a negotiated settlement of the Bodo problem. We welcome it. That is good. BLT is an organization which takes arms to Bodo areas. There is another important organization, NDFB which takes arms to Bodo areas. What is the position of NDFB? I would request the hon. Minister to clarify it.

Bodo problem is an old problem which had come to the forefront in the 60s of last century. This problem started when a section of Bodo people started demanding a separate Bodo State. It centred around the identity of Bodo ethnic groups. That is the basic point. Bodo people wanted a separate State or a separate Autonomous Council Area because they wanted to protect their identity. As you know, Sir, Assam is full of ethnic and different Tribal groups. Bodo is the oldest Tribal group of Assam. Bodo is the oldest ethnic group. This group has its own culture and territory. They feel that their ethnicity should be protected. That is why they are demanding it. Sir, Bodos are mainly concentrated in Kokrajhar district and in certain parts of Barpeta, Bongaigaon, Nalbari and Darrang districts, particularly in Odulgiri Sub-Division of Darrang district. Their demand is for a Bodoland State or a Bodoland Autonomous Council Area. Some of them are demanding Bodoland State and some are demanding Bodoland Autonomous Council Area. All these things relate to the question of identity. Most of the people of Assam have agreed with the formation of an Autonomous Area. But there are some differences with regard to the inclusion of some villages into that area.

So, it is our view that Assam should not be further divided. But in order to help the plain tribals like the Bodos, Rabhas, Tiwas and Michings, some autonomous councils should be formed. That is the basic point, and this alone can solve the real problem. Unless we have the solution of the problem, there can be no peace there. Unless we persuade the other militant groups like the NDFB, we can have no peace there. Secondly, I want to ask of the hon. Minister another thing. I had raised it in the morning also in the Question Hour. The Minister replied saying that they are going to have dialogues with the NSCN and that they are inviting other militant groups also. Now, the NSCN is for independent Nagaland, and the ULFA is for independent Assam. When their demand is of a similar nature, why is it that the NSCN alone has been invited for the dialogue and the ULFA has not been invited for that purpose? The parameter of consultation should be extended both to the NSCN and the ULFA. So, I would like to know the hon. Minister's view on this point as well.

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL (Haryana): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first of all, I congratulate the Government on this very bold initiative and, especially, what has been mentioned in para 6 of this statement. It is because the ultimate solution of the problem in the North-East is only a political solution and military solution is not the ultimate solution. But I have three clarifications to seek from the hon. Minister. First of all, as regards the area to which this understanding of cessation of operation applies, we must be very specific on that count. Otherwise, it would lead to problems at a later stage. And, in case, you find insurgents operating outside that area, what action will the Government take against those Bodo insurgents operating outside the area to which this cessation operation applies? My second clarification is this. What is the time limit of this understanding of cessation of hostilities? Is it indefinite or is it limited to a particular time? The third clarification that I wish to seek through you, Sir, is this. As per the terms of this understanding, is it permissible for the Bodo insurgents to carry weapons, and in case they do, what action do you propose to take as per the terms of this understanding that you have tentatively reached with the Bodo insurgents?

श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इस मुद्दे पर स्पष्टीकरण पूछने से पहले मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री जी को बधाई देना चाहूंगा कि उन्होंने एक बहुत ही ठोस कदम उठाया है ताकि सारे क्षेत्र में शांति स्थापित हो सके ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूं कि तमाम प्रयासों के बाद भी कई बार ऐसी स्थितियां बनी हैं बोडो क्षेत्र में, जब सरकार की तरफ से इस तरह की घोषणाएं की गईं कि शांति स्थापित हो जाएगी, आक्रामकता कम हो जाएगी और ऑपरेशन तत्काल स्थगित कर दिए गए, उदाहरणस्वरूप पिछले दिसम्बर में ऐसा ही हुआ, लेकिन फिर उसके बाद जनवरी में कठिनाइयां सामने आ गईं । सोचने की बात यह है कि बोडो क्षेत्र के जो लोग हैं या पूर्वोत्तर क्षेत्र के अन्य भागों के जो उग्रवादी हैं, ये केवल अपने बलबूते पर यह काम नहीं करते, ये किसी के हाथों की कठपुतली हैं । यद्यपि वहां की सारी जनता, जैसा कि मंत्री जी ने कहा है, हिंसा से तंग आ चुकी है और शांति के लिए लालायित है, लेकिन आई.एस.आई. का इतना प्रभाव इस क्षेत्र पर हो गया है कि आई.एस.आई. का जब-जब इन पर दबाव पड़ता है, तो पुनः वे उग्रवाद की तरफ चल देते हैं । तो सबसे मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह समस्या आज भी बनी हुई है ? क्या आई.एस.आई.की गतिविधियां समाप्त हो गई हैं ? क्योंकि अगर ये गतिविधियां समाप्त नहीं हुईं तो कुछ दिन बाद, कुछ महीने बाद, भविष्य में यह समस्या पुनः उभरकर सामने आ जाएगी ।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस वक्तव्य में कहा गया है कि भारत सरकार ने सभी उग्रवादी ग्रुपों से संविधान के दायरे के भीतर बातचीत के लिए आगे आने का आह्वान किया है। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि ऐसे कितने ग्रुप हैं? कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि ऐसे 17 ग्रुप हैं, कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि 30 ग्रुप हैं । आखिर ऐसे कितने ग्रुप हैं जो उस बोडो क्षेत्र में उग्रवादी गतिविधियों में लिप्त हैं और उनमें से कितने ग्रुप ऐसे हैं जो बातचीत करने के लिए तैयार हैं ? यह स्पष्ट नहीं हो पा रहा है कि ऐसे कितने ग्रुप हैं। वक्तव्य में कहा गया है कि "सभी' उग्रवादी ग्रुप, इसका मतलब यह है कि एक से अधिक उग्रवादी ग्रुप हैं । तो ऐसे कितने ग्रुप हैं, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूं ।

महोदय, मेरा तीसरा प्रश्न यह है कि जो बातचीत पहले हुई है और जो बातचीत आगे होगी, उसमें किस प्रकार के मुद्दे ये उग्रवादी लोग उठाते हैं? उनकी बार-बार आकांक्षा क्या होती है? समाचारपत्रों के हिसाब से देखा जाए तो ये स्वतंत्र बोडो लैंड की मांग कर रहे हैं । कोई कहता है कि ऑटोनॉमस बोडो लैंड हो जाए । तो वास्तव में ये जो उग्रवादी हैं, ये क्या चाहते हैं? ये किन विषयों पर बातचीत करना चाहते हैं और उस पर हमारा रवैया क्या हो सकता है, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूं।

महोदय, अभी तक जो जानकारी हमें समाचारपत्रों के माध्यम से उपलब्ध है, वह यह है कि बोडो क्षेत्र अभी भी क्रिश्चियन मिशनरीज़ के प्रभाव में है । जब मिशनरीज़ चाहते हैं वहां शांति स्थापित होने लगती है, जैसा कि क्रिसमस के दिनों में हुआ था और जब वे

चाहते हैं, अशांति पुनः भड़क उठती है । क्या यह सही है ? क्या आज भी जो लोग बातचीत में बैठेंगे, उन पर क्रिश्चियन मिशनरीज़ का कोई प्रभाव है ? क्या इसका कोई आकलन किया गया है, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूं ।

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Kerala): Any initiative to bring peace in the North-East is a welcome initiative. While welcoming this initiative, I only express an apprehension. The hon. Minister can very well have an understanding with BLT. But there are some other groups also who have the same method of violence or path of violence. What initiative will the Minister take to contain such forces or such elements so as not to escalate their ego clash so that it does not lead to a further escalation of violence by the different groups because of ego clash? I would like to know from the hon. Minister what steps he would take to contain those groups also so as not to further escalate the tension or violence.

Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L. K. ADVANI): My Statement this morning refers to an invitation to all militant groups which are operating. It is not an invitation issued to each separately. It is a public statement mady by the Prime Minister and the Government spokesman from time to time. I referred specifically to the first visit of the Prime Minister to the North-East during which he made a public statement that he would like all those groups who for various reasons have taken to militancy to come for a dialogue. Of course, in the course of the discussion, I would like to make it clear that any solution that can be brought about will be within the four corners of the Constitution. So, on this basis, we have been trying. Someone asked, 'Are you in touch with the underground?' They are all underground. What is their source of contact? I am sure anyone who has been in the Government, who has faced this situation, is aware that a time comes when, for various reasons, if a particular group feels that what they are doing at the moment is not yielding results, then soundings take place. It is in the course of such soundings that we have had some kind of informal talks with the BLT. They responded. It is true that several Members referred to the fact that NDFB is not here. It is true. The Statement that I have made is about BLT. One thing that should be known about BLT is that this is an organisation which has sought Bodoland as a separate state, not as a sovereign state, but within the Indian Union.

But when they formed this BLT seven years back, they said that Bodoland will be formed not by petitions, prayers and democratic process, but by taking to arms and, therefore, they became a militant organisation formally, saying that, "Our objective is to create a separate Bodoland State for the survival of the Bodos and to develop and organise insurgency and underground activities, leading to mass revolution for the creation of a separate Bodoland State". Now, with this declared objective, we felt that when they approached the Government and said, "We are willing to talk to you in respect of a separate State of Bodoland; we are willing to abjure violence", we will say yes. Now, the kind of questions that have been raised by several Members are very reasonable. I can tell you that the specific conditions that they have agreed to are three-fold. These are: (a) BLT will completely abjure the path of violence; (b) BLT will not engage in violent or unlawful activities like killings, injuries, kidnappings, extortions, intimidation, etc.; and, (c) - which is even more important, because it covers the whole gamut -- BLT agrees to abide by the Constitution of India and the laws of the land. Now, with these three commitments made by them, they say that, "We are willing to make these commitments, provided the Government says that it will not carry on its operations against the BLT". So, this has been done in consultation with the State Government of Assam, namely, the Governor of Assam and the Chief Minister of Assam, who have been in the picture. So much so, that it was decided that when the Central Government apprises Parliament on this particular agreement, simultaneously, the Chief Minister of Assam will apprise the State Assembly also of this agreement. So, this is somewhat different from what has been done earlier. The questions raised by hon. Swaraj Kaushal are very valid because when we came into office, there was an agreement entered into by the earlier Government with the NSCN (I-M) and we inherited that. Because of that agreement, there was a cease-fire in Nagaland. We considered the whole thing and we came to the conclusion that because there was a cease-fire, let us not do anything which disrupted the cease-fire; let us continue the cease-fire. A question was asked by Dhrupadji saying that, "In that case, you have not imposed the condition, 'within the four parameters'; they also say that they want sovereignty and they want independence and yet you are discussing with them. Why can't you have the same approach about ULFA?" I said that that was not an agreement entered into by this Government, but we inherited it and we considered the pros and cons and came to the conclusion that -

although if we were there, we may not have done it and that we would have done it in this way; so, on that account -- let us not disrupt the cease-fire that is there; let us continue it; let us negotiate, though, in the course of the discussion, we have made it clear to them that so far as the Government of India was concerned, the Government of India would like to find a solution to their problems within the four parameters of the Constitution of India. This has been made clear in the course of negotiations. In case fresh and new negotiations are to be started, we would like to make it clear to the militant groups right from the outset. Similarly, there was the other question about the area, etc. In this case, basically, it is the area within Assam where the autonomous council is sought to be set up.

Though, at this point of time, I would not say that these things have been put down in black and white, basically, when they agreed to abide by the Constitution and the laws of the land, I think the BLT should be depended upon to carry on the negotiations properly. I think something good will come of it. We would be happy if the other groups also decided in a similar way to abjure violence, accept the Constitution of India, the laws of the land and come to discuss with us. But if the others don't, there is no reason why we should not talk to a group that has offered. And mind you, it may be a smaller group than the NDFT, but I find, in the last few years, the kind of casualties inflicted on the people, on the security forces, are not minor. They have also lost their lives; they have been arrested in large numbers; they have surrendered. The numbers that are attributable to the Bodo Liberation Tigers do indicate that there is a hard core of activists in that organisation and if they come to the mainstream, it is for the good of Assam, and good of the country. Therefore, the Government has accepted this.

Santoshji was taking exception to my observations that there are positive responses. In situations of this kind, I can only say that positive responses mean, direction is for the good. I would never claim that militancy has been contained in Assam. No, I would not say that. But I find that they are losing support; this time, they called for a boycott of the elections, but the poll percentage was over 70. This is one index. Similarly, when you have half-a-dozen or ten incidents happening in the countryside where the ULFA extremists are surrounded by the villagers, they are lynched by the villagers, they are handed over to the police; they are evidences that things are moving in a positive direction. I am not citing the figures and statistics which show that in the last two years, things have been gradually coming down and down

and down, though, of course, when an incident of the kind that took place in the last week of February occurs, when a Minister was killed, it certainly creates a news; it may strengthen the morale of the extremists and demoralises the common man, but that does not mean that the basic fact is wrong. This kind of an incident -- a landmine explosion -- it can happen. I would not rule it out, but the facts which are with us, and which I have presented to Parliament earlier also, do indicate that with the combined efforts of the State Government; the police there; the para-military forces; and to some extent, the Army also, militancy is being contained. They have lost the support of the people considerably, which is a great achievement. Therefore, in the North-East, on the whole, the evidences are positive. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA : Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANATAN BISI) : No, no.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA : Mr. Minister, you have not clarified that the victims will not be further victimised by the Government.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : Why will the victims be victimised? There is no question of the victims being victimised. If you have any specific case in mind, please give it to me.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA : I will give it to you, Sir.

SHRI KHAGEN DAS : You have not mentioned anything about the bases or hideouts of the extremists in the neighbouring countries.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI : As I said in the morning itself, whenever we get information, we get in touch with Bangladesh or with Myanmar. We do get in touch with them, and try to see that those persons who have been kidnapped are brought back. Bhutan is a different case altogether. You also referred to the cases of Riyangs. We are in touch with the Mizoram Government, and we are trying to see that Riyangs who are now in Tripura do return to their own places.